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THE
WAR IN THE CRIMEA.

Hæc et apud seras gentes, populosque nepotum ;
Sive suâ tantum venient in sæcula famâ,
Sive aliquid nostri magnis quoque cura laboris
Nominibus prodesse potest ; cum bella legentur,
Spesque metusque simul perituraque vota movebunt ;
Attonitique omnes veluti venientia fata
Non transmissa legent.

PHARSALIA, vii. v. 207.

These Eastern conflicts, when their fates engage
Our children's children of some future age,
Whether their own inherent fame alone
Preserve the record, or some lingering tone
Of this cotemporary strain shall last,
And aid the mighty memories of the past ;
Shall rouse each mind, as though for these who hear
That past were yet to come, the distant near,
And all were yet to hope, or all were still to fear.

THE
WAR IN THE CRIMEA.

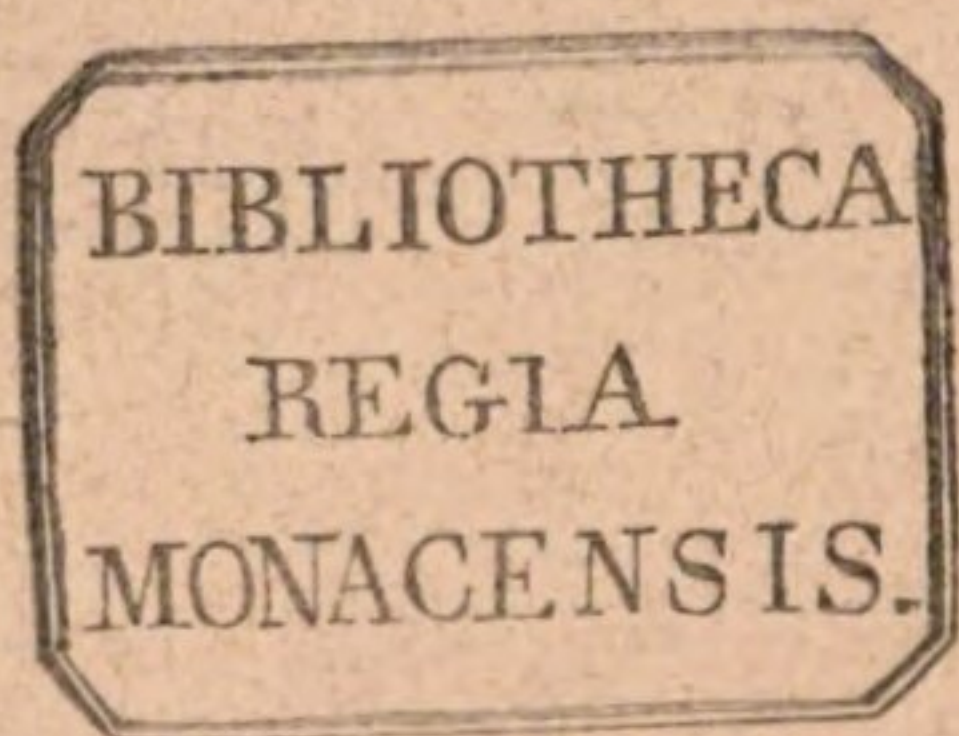
SUBSTANCE OF A DISCOURSE

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BY THE
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THE
WAR IN THE CRIMEA.

THE subject which I propose to bring under your notice this evening is one of such surpassing and universal interest, that I feel no apology from me is necessary on the score of its selection. Be the merits, however, of a subject what they may, it may fairly be demanded, that anyone who undertakes to instruct others upon it should relieve himself from the charge of presumption by adducing some reason for his attempt. The more universal and pervading its interest, the more such justification becomes necessary.

The war which we are now waging with Russia has occupied from its commencement, and continues to occupy, the thoughts of all persons of

common intelligence, of all classes in her Majesty's dominions. I am quite sure that there is not one individual here present who has not explored, with eager curiosity, every accessible source of information as to its progress and incidents. These sources are so varied and copious, that I may well be asked, "What have you to tell us which we do not already know? Can you improve upon the reports of actors and eye-witnesses in the way of description, or give us anything either more full or more authentic than those official reports which Lord Panmure from time to time has great pleasure in communicating to the newspapers?" To such inconvenient questions it might, perhaps, be my best policy to say, with Shylock, "I'll not answer that." Still, if put on my defence, I might allege that accidents of leisure, study, and social intercourse, have given me access to sources of information more varied, if not better, than those at your disposal,—to some, among others, which, coming

from foreign quarters and through the medium of foreign languages, may throw additional and in some instances corrective light on various passages of the great struggle ; that there are members of my own family who have played not an inactive or useless part on the stage of conflict ; and that I have been from time to time in habits of intercourse or correspondence with other actors, by sea and land, in the great drama.

The subject with which, on these grounds, I therefore venture to deal, may be considered and treated under various aspects ; for instance, moral, political, or military. I propose to deal principally with the latter. Political discussion, in which the character and conduct of public men necessarily form an ingredient, is, I think, best confined to those occasions and assemblies, at which the men concerned are present either in their own persons or those of their adherents, can argue their own case, and fight their own battle. The origin, however, and the moral justification

of the war are topics which I think deserve some brief observation.

The first, and in my mind most characteristic and conspicuous feature of this war is, that it is, so far as England is concerned, essentially national; that it begun and has been waged with the concurrence of the people at large, not merely of any class, section, or party. It is a war, not of queen, or lords, or commons, but of all three. In this respect it differs from many great military transactions recorded in history, from some of our own day. The military power of States has been before now set in action by the will of one person, or of a few depositaries for the time being of the necessary motive force. That power has been held and used by sovereigns, by statesmen, by favourites, confessors and mistresses. A painted woman at Versailles has possessed it. In my own time I have seen a man exercising such power, won as it was by vast abilities and immense achievements, contrary to the advice of

his ablest councillors and truest friends, launch the entire power of France, and that of half Europe at her heels, upon an enterprise which proved his ruin.

In a recent publication, M. Villemain's Biographical Notice of M. de Narbonne, it may be seen that Napoleon's fatal invasion of Russia was the offspring of his own strong will, carried out in defiance of warning and remonstrance from the few he consulted. In our case, the vote for war was a vote of the people at large. What is it that has so stirred the public mind and public will? Were we tired of peace,—do Englishmen love war for its own sake? The schoolmaster has been abroad to little purpose, if we are such bad œconomists and bad Christians. Of the motives which stimulate communities to great exertions and great sacrifices, perhaps the most ordinary are fear and revenge. By fear, I do not mean cowardice or dismay, but that rational apprehension of immediate danger which may be

entertained by the wisest and bravest. Such fear I can remember in this country when Napoleon had collected at Boulogne the materials for a descent on our coast. Success in that enterprise would have brought ruin to our homes, and the men of England prepared to meet the danger; but I can distinctly remember, that the nursery-maids of England confidently expected the appearance of Napoleon with his staff in their own apartment in the back attic of a London residence.

Now the dangers to be expected from the extension and probable exercise of Russian power were not of this urgent and appalling character. They were rather such as loom dimly in the distance, subjects of speculation and anxiety to far-seeing and instructed men. No one expected an early appearance of Cossacks in Manchester. Nevertheless, if you had polled the operatives of that town, you would have found the vast majority averse even to the postponement of this war, and

impatient of protracted negotiation. Of revenge there is little to be said. That great authority, the oldest inhabitant, has no recollection of any flagrant injury inflicted by Russia upon England, or by Russians on Englishmen. My belief is, that the war has been mainly in this country a war of sentiment, assisted by an instinct of danger, not pressing and immediate but certain and demonstrable; and much as I distrust sentiment as a ground for violent action, I think in this case the sentiment was sound and the instinct salutary. I think that the attention of the world at large had been much directed to the worst features of Russian rule, by the notoriety of what happened to Poland at her hands, especially the events of 1830. There was a general suspicion in this country that Russia, not satisfied with applying her own system of government to her own vast territories, was intent upon extending it directly or indirectly beyond her dominions, and coupled with this suspicion was the conviction that it was

just as bad a system as could be inflicted by any one civilised nation on another.

The glacier's cold and restless mass,
Rolls onward day by day.

Then there was a wide-spread and most legitimate indignation at what all here considered a wanton disturbance of the public peace of the world; and a feeling that, in the matter of Turkey, a defiance had been flung in the face of Europe, which, however other powers might put up with it, England and France could not, without dishonour and degradation, suffer to remain unanswered. The proceedings of Russia's insolent diplomacy proclaimed beyond dispute and cavil her intention to make a stride towards that occupation of the Dardanelles and Constantinople which all men believe to have been for centuries the object of her desires. In another direction, towards the Sound and the command of the Baltic, her advances were less vigorous and less matured, but not, in fact,

less carefully planned and ardently pursued.
Witness Bomarsund !

I may well say that danger to Constantinople from Russia dates from centuries back ; for you would find that so long ago as the tenth century, when we were living under Anglo-Saxon rule, Byzantium was threatened by the then Slavonic sovereigns of Russia, and purchased her safety by tribute. Neither do English statesmen awake now for the first time, within my own recollection, to the necessity of offering a check to Russian designs. Twice, since the peace of 1814, have we been on the verge of an armed combination for that purpose. The first of these occasions was when Russia, at the Congress of Vienna, carried things with so high a hand, that England, Austria, and France, represented by Lord Castlereagh, Prince Metternich, and Talleyrand, entered into a secret treaty against her. I believe it originated with Prince Metternich ; but Lord Castlereagh was so sensible of the urgency of the case, that, without

instructions from his Government—there were no telegraphs in those days—he, at an hour's notice, drew and signed that treaty. It was considered one of the most audacious assumptions of responsibility on record ; (it took away Lord Liverpool's breath when he heard of it;) but Lord Castlereagh was a man of daring courage, physical and moral. The return of Napoleon from Elba prevented the explosion which would have ensued ; but the Emperor Alexander long remembered and resented the transaction, of which Napoleon, who found the draft of the treaty at the Foreign Office on his arrival at Paris, took good care to inform him.

In 1828, again, Austria, the power most directly interested in checking the designs of Russia upon Turkey, felt her way towards a combination with France and England for that purpose ; but France refused her co-operation, and the Russian General Diebitsch was allowed to reach Adrianople and dictate terms of peace to the Sultan.

I mention these occurrences to show how long the fire which now blazes up has smouldered, and how strongly, at former periods, statesmen here and on the Continent have been actuated by that sense of evil to come from Russia which has now summoned France and England to arms. It is very commonly supposed on the Continent, that alarm for the safety of our Indian possessions has been the principal motive for the action of England in this contest. It is a convenient theory for those who would fain make our French allies believe that we are courting their alliance for purposes exclusively our own. I have no doubt it is seriously entertained by many. I am well satisfied that apprehensions for India have had nothing to do with the popular feeling in favour of war with Russia, and next to nothing with the councils of our statesmen.

I think, then, we went to war on good and sufficient grounds of justice and policy, but I am bound to say that I also think we did so with

much ignorance, more levity and more boasting than the circumstances justified. Men in high and low places talked of a short and decisive war. Those who thought such thoughts or held such language, must, I think, have overlooked some considerations of very vital importance.

They were, I think, justified in refusing to measure the belligerent power of Russia by the rough standard of the numerical strength of her armies on paper. The extent of Russian dominion, and of the area from which her armies are recruited, and the enormous distances which intervene between the principal points at which her forces are usually collected, make it very difficult for her to apply her strength to any one quarter even within her own frontier, still more so to operate in force beyond it. The average loss of a Russian division in a long march, in time of peace, by fatigue and disease, has been stated on good authority at fifteen per cent. When the Duke of Wellington was at St. Petersburg he

was shown a recruit for the guards who had been more than a year on the march to join his regiment. With respect to the quality of her troops, I think we were justified in the anticipation that either French or English troops, and still more French and English troops acting in concert and rivalry, would evince a considerable and a constant superiority over their opponents. That anticipation, I think, has been justified by the event. I never however could concur with some, who drew from the campaign of Russia in Hungary, inferences which led them to form a decidedly low estimate of the quality of Russian troops and Russian armies. It is true that the army of Prince Paskiewitz in Hungary fought little and suffered much; but that it fought little was owing to the early termination of the contest, and I never heard that it fought badly. Its sufferings might have been partly due to defective organisation and commissariat. Of a total loss of some 12,000, less than 2000 were

killed or wounded in action, but a large portion of the remainder were swept off by cholera. I have heard that 1000 sickened of that disease in one day's march. I have heard Frenchmen of Napoleon's school speak of the Russian troops as the most formidable of their Continental antagonists ; and when the news reached us of Alma, I was neither surprised to find that the Russians had fought well, nor that the French and English had fought better.

I do not, however, think that men were at all mistaken, who argued that the power of Russia for aggression, especially towards the Danube, bore small proportion to the nominal extent of her military resources. For aggression as against Germany, against either Austria or Prussia, she is more formidably situated. They know it, and tremble ; and have hitherto averted the danger by a policy of their own, which I do not propose now to discuss. What I do think was generally overlooked by the pro-

phets of a rapid issue, was the defensive power of Russia, and the difficulty—I may call it the impossibility—of striking a blow at the heart of her enormous, albeit unwieldy frame.

Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,
And Winter barricades the realms of frost.

Johnson wrote these well-known lines in allusion to the failure of Charles XII. A greater than Charles XII. did but repeat that failure on a larger scale. It would be idle to dilate on this great and notorious feature—the inassailability of Russia. There were other circumstances which I think many persons have overlooked or ignored. It has become more evident than it then was that Russia had employed forty years of peace in diligent preparation for war. Not as I humbly conceive always in the best manner, for I think that one well-planned line of railroad would have proved of more use to her than a superfluity of warlike stores. Be this as it may, it is now evident that at every point of her frontier, from

Petropolawski to Archangel, she had prepared for war after her manner. Her empire was a garrison prepared for a siege, and a camp under marching orders. Compared with other countries, she may be described as a nation of soldiers. I think, nevertheless, she would be very ill described, with respect to the natural character of her population, as a warlike nation.

A nation may be military, may have a very large army, and a very good army, without being a warlike people. I do not consider the population of that considerable military state, Prussia, warlike. The French are both a great military power and a warlike people. The Hungarians, if we may judge from 1848, seem born soldiers, especially on horseback. Putting these out of the question, if I were called upon to name the most warlike civilised people I have met with, I should name the people of the United States of America. In respect of numbers, their regular army hardly deserves the name; and it is

principally composed of foreigners, German, Irish, and English. Its officers, indeed, are American born, and not to be surpassed or perhaps equalled in any service ; for they all pass through the education of West Point, fully equal to that of the French École Polytechnique, or our Woolwich ; and it is one which turns them out accomplished gentlemen and men of science as well as soldiers. When I speak of the warlike tendencies of the American people, I do not take their army into account. I mean that if the American Government were to advertise for volunteers for any expedition, however hazardous, they would get more men accustomed to the use of fire-arms and capable of desperate exploit than any other Government could raise in the same time. They got 20,000 volunteers for Mexico in a fortnight, and could have got as many more in a month. That is what I call a warlike people.

With respect to Russia, I am not speaking of various Asiatic tribes more or less military in

their habits, who live under her dominion, and swell the ranks of her armies; nor of the Finlanders, from whom Gustavus Adolphus recruited his blue and yellow regiments, the heroes of Lutzen; but of the peasantry of Russia in Europe. I have always heard the Russian peasantry described as mild, good-humoured, especially when drunk; and particularly averse to military service. I should doubt whether in time of peace, and putting out of the question any extraordinary excitement of patriotic or religious fanaticism, the Czar would get a voluntary recruit from this the staple portion of his subjects. That matters little, for the serf has no choice; he is recruited by force, and in a certain number of months a severe course of military education makes him the soldier we have met with in the Crimea;—patient, resigned, obedient to his officers, satisfied with the coarsest and cheapest food, facing death with stoical intrepidity, formidable behind a breast-work, and no despicable antagonist anywhere.

With respect to the officers, I am not surprised to hear, on both English and French authority, that a very high opinion of them has been formed in the Allied camp. In the Russian empire, where the energies of the state are concentrated upon the object of military supremacy, where the main channels to advancement and the favour of a despotic sovereign are military, it would be strange if such a system should fail to produce its fruits in the shape of highly-educated and accomplished officers. The Russian artillery is notoriously of the highest quality, and Sebastopol alone is sufficient evidence of the skill and resource of Russian military engineers. Their regular cavalry I have heard less highly spoken of, and recent experience has not been to its advantage. The Russian peasant is a skilful driver, and familiar with wheel-carriages; but his habits are not equestrian, like those of Hungary and parts of Poland.

I might cite a variety of instances to show how

deeply the Russian system imbues its higher classes with military feelings and habits, with what we should irreverently call pipe-clay. An English officer who has once got over the boyish pleasure of wearing his first uniform, has nothing more at heart than to get rid of it when off duty. When Count Orloff, a great favourite of the late Emperor, was sent over to this country on a confidential mission, he was invited to dinner by the King—I am not sure whether George or William IV.; and was told, to his great surprise, that he was expected to appear in ordinary evening dress. Returning to his hotel after dinner, he immediately resumed his uniform, which from long habit was to him what a dressing-gown is to an average man tired with his day's work. There is no wrinkle in a Russian uniform. Eminence in Russia is measured and symbolised by military rank. Rulhières relates that when the Schah of Persia sent a present of fourteen elephants to the Czar, the latter, not exactly

knowing what to do with them, made them major-generals.

How did we stand as compared with Russia in respect of military preparation? Our forty years of peace had not certainly been employed in preparation for such a contest. We had been much better employed in the pursuits of peaceful industry; but I think we had till very recently allowed ourselves to glide into an opposite extreme, of too great negligence of our military establishments. I thought this so strongly at one period, that I made my thoughts public, and found myself in accordance with a greater authority, the Duke of Wellington. I refer to this only to remark that what was then said or written on the subject by the Duke, Sir J. Burgoyne, or others, had principal or sole reference to the condition of this country as regarded its security from aggression or insult. I, for one, thought that we were in a state which presented an undue temptation to a possible enemy. The warning was a good deal ridiculed,

but the advice was to a great extent in time acted upon, as I could show if necessary.

Still neither the Duke of Wellington, nor anybody else, argued the case on the ground that this country would ever be called upon to take part in any considerable offensive operation abroad. The public mind was then so little prepared for such a contingency, that the Duke himself would have been treated as a madman for contemplating it as a probable case. War found us rather better prepared than it would have found us when the Duke issued his warning. Still, though it found us with an army in many respects admirable, adapted and competent to keep, as it has kept, the police of half the world in our Colonial and Indian possessions, that army was imperfectly organised and provided for the task which it was called upon to discharge. A French writer has said, with some truth and much poignancy, that we had been building a warehouse for forty years, and were surprised and

disappointed to find that it was not a barrack. There was much to arrange, much to create, many deficiencies to remedy, which could only be discovered by experience. Without entering upon the ground of party questions and political disputes, I may say that the Ministers of the day were blamed for much which no men in their places could have foreseen or avoided, and that their successors came in for the advantage of knowing where the mischief lay and where the remedy was to be applied.

What I have been saying applies to our land forces. How stood the case with regard to the sea? There, at least, we might expect to exhibit and maintain a marked superiority over our enemy. We have done so, but here again I think that expectations were entertained, and demands made, which placed both Ministers and naval officers in an unfair position. The former were justly called upon to provide a force which should be sufficient to confine the Russian fleets in the Black Sea

and the Baltic, or to destroy them should they come out. This in itself was no slight matter, for in both seas Russia had fleets of no contemptible strength ; but a great deal more was demanded. It was demanded that our Admirals should go in and destroy the Russian fleets in their harbours of Sebastopol, Cronstadt, and Helsingfors. Anything that is possible may be fairly expected of an English Admiral ; but I think a little reflection and discussion would have shown that such exploits were impossible.

I admit that some *primâ facie* doubt may have existed at the time, even among naval men, as to the relative power of land batteries and the broadsides of ships of the line. There were new elements in the problem. Great improvement had doubtless taken place in our naval armaments. Weight of metal and precision of fire had been carried to an extent of which Nelson never dreamed. The application of the screw to large ships was in itself an inno-

vation of scarcely calculable advantage, and one which Russia had scarcely yet adopted. So far, however, as the gunnery question is concerned, I think the slightest enquiry must show at once that increase of weight and range, the adoption of shell and hollow shot inclusive, must tell in favour of land defences against naval batteries. A large shot, whether hollow or solid, will damage a ship little less at a long range than at a short one. Against stone or earth defences properly constructed, it is well known that distance makes all the difference. Guns of inferior calibre will shake a wall at a short distance with an effect which at even a slight increase of range heavier metal cannot equal. No engineer plants a breaching battery in his first parallel. I believe it has now been pretty well ascertained that beyond 500 yards the broadside of a ship will not make a breach in such defences as those of Cronstadt or Sebastopol. No fortunate shot will destroy a fortress; a single shell may blow up a three-

decker. These are facts which lie on the surface of the question, and may be safely cited by persons as unprofessional and ignorant as myself.

And yet, long after the war had begun, I read angry questions in newspapers, Why are not Sebastopol and Cronstadt destroyed? What would Nelson have done? &c. The answer in Nelson's case might best be derived from what he did or did not. Why, half the lives of Nelson and his noble colleague and successor, Collingwood, was passed in weary watches off ports they could not enter, counting the pennants which flew there in safety, and exhausting device and stratagem to induce them to come out. Did Nelson ever go in and smash the French fleet in Toulon? did Collingwood go into Cadiz to finish off the remnants of Trafalgar which had taken refuge there? No; for, though they were the greatest admirals that ever lived, they were neither madmen nor desperadoes.*

* On one occasion they did come out. Lord Nelson's ship

These views of mine are not now stated for the first time. I stated and I published them before a shot was fired. I was lately surprised to see it argued in a morning paper—I forget which, but I think it was not the Times—that there was a discrepancy in the results of naval attack in the cases of Bomarsund and Sebastopol. It is true that Bomarsund surrendered, and that Forts Constantine and Nicholas were little injured by the fire of the Allied fleets. The latter attack was a failure, and the attempt was so hopeless, that I think it was only justifiable as a diversion in favour of the simultaneous opening of our land-batteries. Bomarsund, on the contrary, fell, but I deny that it fell to any naval attack. The works of Bomarsund, incomplete as they were and destitute of outworks, were three in number; two towers on

passed within hail of Sir Richard Strachan's, "What do you say to it?" said Nelson, "All ready, my Lord," was the reply. Lord Nelson counted the enemy's force and avoided the action. The amount of disparity of force which deterred him from battle was probably considerable, but it did deter him.

high ground, comparatively small, and one a work of greater importance on the sea-margin. The two towers were reduced to surrender, one by a breaching battery of three English 32-pounders worked by marines and artillerymen; the other was not breached, but made untenable and stung to surrender by some French 16-pounders, and by the sure aim through its embrasures of the Chasseurs de Vincennes. The larger work was attacked by the ships, and one large gun on shore gallantly placed and worked by Captain Pelham. The Commandant capitulated, not in consequence of this fire, for the mainwork was little injured, but because the fall of the other defences rendered further resistance hopeless, and he wisely and humanely forbore to protract it.

You will bear in mind that the above observations apply to the direct fire of ships' broadsides, and have no reference to the action of mortars and vertical fire. Breaching a

place is one thing, shelling it another. The recent case of Sweaborg shows that the latter operation may be applied with great effect, and with comparative safety, where the former is impossible, or at least not attempted. The mortar vessel is a small object and has no occasion to approach the place attacked nearer than is absolutely necessary to reach it with its projectile. A mortar flotilla, therefore, can evade the fire of the land battery, but can seldom silence it. It can burn and ruin things destructible and combustible within a circle of defences, but cannot pulverise the defences themselves.*

A small fortress or an inhabited city may be shelled into surrender; the citadel of St. Sebastian was so reduced after the town had been carried. A very trifling bombardment

* Officers who have lately visited the Redan at Sebastopol affirm that little damage had been done to its batteries by our shells, which had been aimed for the most part so as to fall in the centre of the work. Guns and embrasures had indeed suffered severely, but evidently from the horizontal fire of our batteries.

induced the capitulation of Vienna. A large system of defences like Sweaborg, with a sufficient garrison, is not to be reduced by such means. Its contents, buildings, docks, magazines, &c., may be destroyed, and this is what was effected, and ably and without loss effected, by Admiral Dundas at Sweaborg; but he left, and could not do otherwise, the external defences as strong as ever. It pleased certain newspapers, misconceiving the entire plan and scope of Admiral Dundas's operation, to announce that Sweaborg was destroyed; and as this announcement turned out to be incorrect, the critics fell foul of the Admiral, and censured him for not performing what he had neither the power to effect nor the intention to attempt. Our admirals in the Baltic have been, in my opinion, most unjustly censured. The English navy in that quarter have had few or no opportunities for dazzling exploit; but more arduous and anxious service than that which through two seasons has been performed by it,

has never fallen to the lot of English captains. Anyone who knows anything of the Baltic will appreciate the conduct of those who have kept the sea there till the approach of winter, and the skill, the endurance, and the courage of men like Sullivan, Otter, and others I could but will not mention, who have surveyed its thousand unknown inlets, and piloted our leviathans of the deep through its intricate channels. This class of service does not obtain crosses and medals but it deserves them.

I have nothing to say against Lord Ellenborough's rule which limits decorative reward to service under fire, but if exceptions were admissible, I think the officers I have named, and others, might claim the benefit.

It will be obviously impossible for me, within the limits of this discourse, to aim at anything more than a very brief summary of the incidents of the great struggle which commenced under the circumstances I have described. Most of its

leading passages have been so ably and copiously illustrated in the usual organs of public intelligence, that I am averse to detain you upon them, and would rather apply myself to incidents with which you may probably be less thoroughly familiar. A few dates may be necessary to give some connexion and sequence to what I have to say.

It was on the 2nd July, 1853, that Russia took the famous step of crossing the Pruth and taking armed possession of Wallachia; but it was not till the 26th September that Turkey replied to this step by a declaration of war; and England, after pursuing through the winter diplomatic attempts at a peaceful solution, issued her declaration of war on the 20th March, 1854. On the 10th April an alliance was concluded between France and England, having for its avowed object the restoration of peace between Russia and Turkey on a safe and durable basis, and the prevention of future complications. Military events,

meanwhile, of some importance had occurred. Omar Pasha, the Turkish general, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Russians at Oltenitza on the 4th November, and the Russians, on the 23rd March, had crossed the Danube with the immediate object of reducing Silistria, a principal frontier fortress of Turkey. Omar Pasha, too weak to face the Russians in the field, entrenched himself at Schumla, and was urgent in his request for the support of an Anglo-French force. That force was sent to Varna about the beginning of June, and the Turks probably derived courage from its vicinity; but actual assistance we were unable to give, for the army was unprovided with the means of land transport. Silistria was saved, not by the English army, but by two young Englishmen.

You have all heard how Butler and Nasmyth, at the head of a few Egyptian troops, held out in a miserable earthwork against a powerful and well-provided Russian army. It

was a striking instance of the influence which intelligent valour can obtain and exercise over men of different race and creed. These poor Egyptians conceived such attachment for their two gallant leaders, that when it was proposed to relieve them in their shattered outwork by a detachment from the town, they refused. They repelled five determined assaults and forced the Russians to raise the siege. The Russians, if tempted to boast of our occasional failure before such works as the Redan, would do well to remember Silistria, and the comparatively insignificant defences of the Arab Tabia.

The Anglo-French army was meanwhile detained at Varna by the difficulties of transport I have mentioned. Their situation was a painful one. Their arrival in the East, coupled with the presence of two powerful fleets, had secured the first object of the Allies—the immediate safety of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. To this object public attention, and probably that of

statesmen and soldiers, had been at first almost exclusively directed. Sir J. Burgoyne, one of our most distinguished engineer officers, had been sent on a preliminary mission, and the first result of his inquiries had been the commencement of lines near Gallipoli. These views, however, gradually expanded. The voice of the public loudly demanded that Russia should not be allowed to retain unassailed her menacing attitude on the Danube, but that she should be encountered, routed, and driven back. It was very difficult to meet this demand. It was one thing to save Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but it was another to devise a scheme of operations which should bring the military power of France and England fairly to bear upon Russia.

Had it been possible to move straightforward and cross the Danube in adequate force, the Russians could have fallen back on their resources and reserves, while every day's march through a wasted and unhealthy country would have carried

us further from our supplies. An ill-advised reconnaissance into the Dobrutscha by the French cost the lives of nearly all engaged in it by disease. Generals and troops, French and English, were pining for action, but where was the field of battle to be found? The agony of this position of forced inactivity is nowhere better described than in the letters of the French commander, Marshal St. Arnaud, a posthumous publication, which I for one could not read without feelings of respect for his memory and sorrow for his loss. From these letters you will learn that while our Government was severely reproached for the deficiency in the means of land transport which detained our army at Varna, our French allies were under precisely the same difficulty; pawing the ground and champing the bit for the same reason.

These letters, addressed to near relatives or intimate friends, are interesting to the military student, as containing a connected narrative of the career of a successful soldier, and many vivid

pictures of the incidents of Algerine warfare ; but they contain, beyond this, evidence of qualities in the writer, which made me close the volume with regret that he was not reserved to finish the work he gloriously commenced at Alma. I owe him a kind word for a passage which concerns Lord Raglan. In one of his letters he had spoken of the loyalty of Lord R. Now loyalty in French has a more extensive significance than in English. With us it usually means attachment to the Crown. In French it rather implies honour, sincerity, fair dealing between man and man. M. St. Arnaud had underlined the word, and his correspondent had misinterpreted the sign of emphasis for one of sarcasm. This was a gross mistake, and M. St. Arnaud corrects it in a manner which shows how well he understood and appreciated his brother in arms.

M. St. Arnaud had laid the foundation of his future eminence as leader of the forlorn hope in the assault of Constantine, an Arab stronghold

which had beat off one French army, and made desperate resistance on this occasion. Those who follow him in his letters through subsequent years of Algerine warfare, will see that no man ever won his way to superior command by harder fighting or more constant personal exposure. Unhappily when circumstances opened a nobler field to his matured talents and honourable ambition, the spirit was ardent as ever, but the flesh was weak. He carried with him to Varna the seeds of mortal disease. It is painful to trace in his letters the struggle which he sustained to the last with bodily suffering and exhaustion. Many of you have heard how he rode through Alma supported on his horse by a dragoon on either side. Even after that trial his letters still speak of hope as well as exultation ; but this was the brightness of an expiring flame, and a finishing attack of cholera carried him off in sight of Sebastopol. I have paid this brief tribute to one who stands on the face of an unimpeachable record as a good soldier,

a man of warm affections, of much cultivation of mind, an able administrator,—I may add in this assembly, what some of his letters show, a good Christian.

Of Lord Raglan, who commanded the English army, I may say that I had known him too long and too well to find any terms to express my affection, my admiration for his character, my sorrow for his loss. The time is not arrived when anything like justice can be done to the history of his late command.

The friend who undertakes that task should have before him Lord Raglan's correspondence with the Government at home, and every record of his communications with his successive French colleagues in command. These materials would be absolutely indispensable for arriving at any conclusion as to any question of the skill and judgment with which he from time to time met the various and growing exigencies of one of the greatest military undertakings it ever

fell to the lot of man to direct. His appointment to that direction was neither sought for by him, I believe it was reluctantly accepted, nor was it due to the influence of name, descent, or connexion. He was sought out and selected for chief command because he had acquired experience of war on a large scale at the right hand of the Duke of Wellington. His pretensions on this score have been adverted to in some lines written on the occasion of the Duke's funeral, which, as directly bearing on the subject, I allow myself to quote :—

From the roll-call of the brave, though many a name be
missed,

Struck by the ruthless hand of death from that resplendent
list ;

Yet read the scroll, there linger still survivors to reply,
Names that are household words to those whose trade it is
to die.

And let the first be his—who long on victory's track of light,
Rode nearest to the chief of chiefs in council and in fight.

From Lisbon to Toulouse that proud companionship main-
tained,

Through every conflict scatheless passed, until the last was
gained,

Then sunk to earth with shattered arm as though, its labours
done,

That chief could need its aid no more, for Waterloo was won.
Yet not to sleep by Gordon's side or share De Lancey's grave
Has lived and lives in peace to serve the land he fought to
save.

Though time and death have scored the page with many a
stroke severe,

The roll-call is not read in vain when Fitzroy answers—
“Here !”

He passed unharmed through the bloodiest scenes
of the campaign. He forded the Alma where its
waters were lashed into foam by grape and
musketry ; he stood unmoved at Inkermann when
Strangways fell at his side, and when a Russian
shell struck down the horse of an aide-de-camp.
It pleased that Providence which had shielded
him from such dangers, to remove him by what
in the case of a friend or relative at home we
might consider an enviable end ; for its approach
was gentle and painless, and cheered to the last
by the remembrance of a life of duty and service
to his country.

If calumny, frequently uttered one day and

refuted the next, pursued him to the verge of the grave, it at least stopped short of that barrier, and I will not now rake in its mire to rescue, even to refute, samples of malignant presumption and premature criticism from their present oblivion. Let no man forget, meanwhile, that he went forth to exercise a divided command, a circumstance which immensely increased the difficulties of his position. It was one which in itself afforded an additional reason for his selection for the post. No man was better fitted to meet its special difficulties. The serenity of his temper, the nobility of his nature, that loyalty of character which M. St. Arnaud so soon detected and recognised, his discretion and forbearance, were guarantees for that good understanding which he maintained to the last with his gallant French colleagues. Still, division of command is a great hazard and a great evil. In the full splendour of Napoleon's early Italian campaigns, the Directory, jealous of his success, made a

subtle proposal that he should divide the command in Italy with Kellerman. "Never," replied Napoleon, "will I consent to such an arrangement. Kellerman has more experience than I have, and will doubtless manage things better; but, depend upon it, one bad general is better than two good ones."

I confess, I entertained this view so strongly that I should have been well content if our armed intervention had been from the first arranged in accordance with it. I should have been glad to have seen a more natural division of labour between France and England; one by which England should have thrown the whole weight of her maritime power for fighting and conveyance into the enterprise, and France undertaken the principal share of action on land. Such a plan would not have excluded either the employment of an English contingent under a French commander-in-chief, or of English troops on any separate field of action suitable to our

means. We might have supplied siege artillery, some cavalry, or any description of force which France at the moment might have found reason to desire in aid of her own.* For reasons which I dare say had their weight, it was decreed otherwise. Thanks to Lord Raglan's admirable qualities, and I believe corresponding qualities in those with whom he had to act, no serious evil, so far as I know, was the consequence. One peculiarity of Lord Raglan's character I fain would mention, because I think he acquired it under his great master; his repugnance to anything like ostentation or display.

When the last shot had been fired at Alma, and the troops were taking up their bivouac for the night, he was recognised as he rode along the line of camp-fires. The men, tired as they

* I find myself in singular accordance on this point with M. C. de Remusat, in his admirable article on Administrative Reform, published in the October number of the "*Révue des deux Mondes*." The accordance is so complete, that I think it worth while to mention that I only saw this article two days after the delivery of this Address.

were, turned out to cheer him as he passed. His remark to his staff was, "I foresaw this." He treated it as an inevitable inconvenience attending success. I am assured that in the camp of Balaclava he was often present, where not recognised, under the simple and unmilitary attire which he affected, with the purpose of avoiding the troublesome honours, turning out of guards, drumming, &c., which etiquette requires on the appearance of a general in uniform. I accompanied Lord Raglan on a mission to Madrid in 1822. From that distant date to this our intercourse has been frequent, and, next to his great master, I could not name the man for whom I had more respect and affection.

We have left the Anglo-French force at Varna. The siege of Silistria was raised by the Russians on the 22nd June. On the 5th July occurred a transaction which was no less calculated than this retreat to affect the consideration of the problem, What were the Allied forces to do, and where?

On that day the Russian ambassador at Vienna announced the intention of the Russians to evacuate the Principalities. I omit, from want of time, all reference to the alleged or real reasons of this measure. It was not only carried into effect, but Austria undertook to oppose, if necessary by arms, the re-occupation by Russia of the evacuated territory, and placed an army in it for that purpose. It was a transaction which, as concerned us, cut two ways. On the one hand it removed all present ground of uneasiness for the safety of the Turkish frontier; on the other, the position taken up by Austria in the Principalities, though it did not formally prevent our advance, or that of Omar Pasha in that direction, had virtually that effect. Russia was in consequence able to dispose elsewhere of a considerable portion of Prince Gortschakoff's army, and this we afterwards found to our cost in the Crimea.

That word Crimea, now so pregnant with recollections, brings me to the great incident of my

discourse. We ultimately chose it for our battlefield, partly for the reason for which the weathercock points in the direction of the wind—because it cannot remain in any other. There were other reasons in plenty, which may be summed up in the single word “Sebastopol.” Could we abate that standing menace to Turkey, could we destroy the fleet there stationed, which had lately achieved the exploit of Sinope, and which hourly threatened the Dardanelles, one great object of the war would be gained by that single blow.

I will not trouble you with the details of that immense operation—the conveyance of the united armies, and their disembarkation on the shore of the Crimea. I will touch but lightly even on Alma, because these are precisely passages with which you are as well acquainted as myself. There is one incident connected with Alma which I would fain mention, because I doubt whether it is yet fully known even to those whom it most concerns—the English naval officers. You

will see in all accounts of the battle that our steamers, French and English, kept up a fire on the left flank of the Russian position. They stood in as near as possible and fired shells over the cliff. Where the shells struck they could hardly see, and I doubt if their effect has been stated or known till the recent publication of a narrative by a German surgeon in the service of Russia. He tells us that these shells half destroyed and quite disorganised two Russian regiments, and materially assisted the difficult and hazardous advance of the French against the Russian left. The German doctor makes the most of this incident, which may have had somewhat of the effect stated, but certainly had none in diminishing the difficulty of the British advance against the strong point of the Russian position. Russian steamers returned the compliment afterwards on several occasions, and especially at Inkermann; but there, if they decimated our ranks, they could not

dislodge them. Our success at Alma, hard-won and glorious, was incomplete from a cause which more than once deprived Napoleon in Germany of the fruits of victory—the want of cavalry.* The beaten enemy evaded pursuit, but preferred that evasion to any further attempt to resist our march upon Sebastopol. You all know that by a daring and somewhat hazardous movement the army gained the southern side of that city and established its connexion with the fleet, and thereby its future base of operations at the harbour of Balaclava and the bay of Kamiesch.

* Some have chosen to criticise Lord Raglan for not using his cavalry to complete the rout of the Russians. We had about one thousand sabres disposable at most, and on these we had to depend for all the contingencies of outpost duty between Alma and Sebastopol. There was a defeat of the Russians, but no rout. They retired in heavy columns protected by their artillery, which we all know had been withdrawn in time. The Russians had five thousand cavalry somewhere in the field. Why Prince Menzikoff did not use them few have enquired, and nobody seems to know. Our cavalry were too good and too many to be sacrificed, too few to do much more than take a few prisoners and guns at most, which would not have been the rout of the Russian army, and have hardly repaid our loss or justified the hazard.

The news of this operation raised high the hopes of all at home, and from a passage in the correspondence of Marshal St. Arnaud, I infer that, in the French camp, hopes were entertained of a speedy entrance into the Russian stronghold. It was known that the sea-defences of Sebastopol were most formidable, and it was believed that towards the land they were comparatively weak. It was even doubted whether on the southern side any defences at all existed. There can be little doubt that the Russians in fortifying Sebastopol were much more jealous of a surprise from the sea, than of a serious invasion by land. Many were and some continue of opinion that by a rapid assault immediately upon our arrival, we might have carried the southern town. This theory has been much favoured by Russians and Germans with a view of taunting us with the loss of a fair occasion, and of imputing incapacity to our commanders. I was slow to believe it at the time, because there was nothing

in the published accounts which showed that Prince Menzikoff's army had been sufficiently beaten to be utterly demoralised. Subsequent information has led me to believe, that what the garrison principally feared was an attack from the sea. It is said they had heard exaggerated rumours of the power of our broadsides, and the effect of new projectiles. They certainly showed their fears in this quarter by the singular and, as I cannot but think, superfluous precaution of sinking half their fleet across the entrance of the harbour. Considering by what batteries that entrance was commanded, it seems to me a question whether they would not have done better to leave the passage open and invite the attack. If these batteries were manned no ship that ever floated could have lived for five minutes in the jaws of that harbour. Exaggerated accounts of the power of the Lancaster gun had probably something to do with the particular apprehensions entertained by the garrison; and it

would appear that this dread of the unknown was not dissipated till the naval bombardment occurred, of which I shall shortly have to say a word.

The confidence entertained in this country of a speedy result was not, I think, much diminished when we became aware that the Allies were preparing to sit down regularly before the place. It was known that France and England had each sent out a siege train of unprecedented power, and it was excusable to suppose that nothing could long resist a victorious army provided with such an instrument. Any serious doubt upon the subject was nearly confined to professional men of long experience, like Sir Howard Douglas. These did not overlook the fact that the place was not invested, and in addition to its command of vast stores of war material, which, as a principal naval arsenal, it was known to contain, might be relieved from the north side to any extent within the wide limit of the resources and

means of transport of the Russian empire. Even these wiser heads had little accurate information of the nature of the ground and the real strength of the southern defences. That particular line of defence was, unquestionably, in the first instance neither strong nor complete. Immense labour and expense had for many years been bestowed upon two main objects,—the formation of a naval arsenal, and its defence towards the sea. English skill and science had been largely applied to these purposes. An English engineer, Upton, had constructed the docks, which are the admiration, at this moment, of those English and French officers who have obtained, with some difficulty, access to their near inspection. Admiral Nachimoff, one of the bravest of the defenders of Sebastopol, and one of the earlier victims of that defence, had been a frequent visitor at Patricroft to our neighbour Mr. Nasmyth, who does me, at this moment, the honour to listen to me.

The defence of the southern side appears to have consisted, in the first instance, of little more than an earthen rampart carried from an inlet of the harbour called the Careening Bay on the east, to an inlet of the open sea called the Quarantine Bay on the west, thus covering the town and its suburb, the famous Karabelnaia, from sea to sea. I believe it was intended to complete this line of defence by towers of masonry at intervals, on the modern system of fortification. This scheme, however, had not been carried out ; and I apprehend that the Malakhoff, and a point called by us the flagstaff, were the only spots at which it had been fairly commenced. The tower itself, if so, proved of little use except as a target for our fire ; the strength of the Malakhoff, as elsewhere, was earthen. I have not yet seen any regular tracing of the rampart, and know not how far its strong points, which the Russians called bastions, were shaped in accordance with the accepted rules of Vauban and others. It had

certainly no regular ditch or counterscarp and covered way, but, in some instances, the configuration of the ground in front, answered the purpose of a ditch, and the Russians were able, in the course of the siege, repeatedly to occupy points in advance, which, under various names, lunettes, counter-approaches, rifle-pits, became serious obstacles to the assailants, and cost torrents of French and English blood for their reduction.*

Before this earthwork the Allies broke ground on October 9th, 1854. You know that it detained them in its front till the famous 8th September of the present year. The credit of

* I state these particulars as I find them, without professing to understand, in the slightest degree, what amount of importance attaches to them. It is, however, easy to imagine how much the strength of any place may depend on the construction of its scarp or rampart, its solidity, steepness, &c. It is not so easy for the unlearned, like myself, to understand the importance of a regular counterscarp. One might imagine that the difficulty of descending into a ditch, however precipitous such descent, would be trifling in comparison with that of the ascent of the breach on the other side. M. Thiers' account, just published, of the French siege of Ciudad Rodrigo shows, however, that a counterscarp, if allowed to remain

this magnificent defence, for such it has been, is ascribed at all hands to a young engineer officer of German extraction, by name Todtleben. Under his direction the rude rampart, however weak at first, gained strength every hour. The inexhaustible stores of the arsenal and the fleet supplied guns *ad libitum*. The ships, now useless, furnished practised gunners as well as heavy guns, for the Russian sailors are first-rate artillery-men. The consequence was, that though on the 17th October we opened a fire by sea and land such as no siege had ever witnessed, a few hours showed that the fire of the defences was far superior. The French batteries in particular were, to use a phrase of the camp, snuffed out, and their works of undamaged, may present vital difficulties to the assailant. The French engineers in this instance had neglected to approach and blow in the counterscarp according to the rules in such case provided. A breach had been effected, but its assault was impracticable, and the besiegers had to waste many days of valuable time, and incur severe losses, in repairing this omission. M. Thiers remarks that the endeavour to save time in a siege by dispensing with rules of science generally ends in losing it at the least, if not in failure. See "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," vol. xii. p. 334.

proach much damaged. In short it was a failure and a disappointment by land, and still more by sea. In that quarter the greater part of the fleet could not get near enough to inflict or to receive essential damage; and where the burning courage of Admiral Lyons and one or two others did effect a closer acquaintance with Fort Constantine, their escape was, in my opinion, miraculous, and the balance of damage not in our favour. Some of our ships had to go to Constantinople for repair, and the fortifications remained with an appearance of small-pox on their faces, but unshaken, and with slight repair formidable as ever.

A fine anecdote which I picked up from a friend, an admiral in the French service, may find a place here. About this time a young Russian officer, of interesting appearance, was severely wounded and made prisoner in a sortie. As he lay on his bed under surgical care, General Canrobert and staff gathered round him. Their curiosity was probably too great for discretion;

for some questions were asked, to which he only replied by an appeal to their honour, and the forbearance due to wounds and misfortune. At last, raising himself up on his bed, he said, "Gentlemen, there is one thing I will tell you, you will never take Sebastopol," and with these words fell back dead. This noble exit is more than paralleled by the last moments of young Captain Lyons of the *Miranda*. His last words were like those of Hotspur's sleep, when he spoke "words of manege to his bounding steed." They were addressed in delirium to the engineer of the ship which he fancied was bearing him to battle. "Ease her, stop her," were those last words.

One remark here upon a technical matter. I have been using some terms which, if time allowed me, I should wish, so far as my own limited and superficial knowledge might enable me, to explain,—bastion, covered way, &c. I must at least reserve this for another occasion. I cannot, however, forego the opportunity of adverting to what I

think a very hasty inference which some have drawn from the resistance of Sebastopol. It has been argued that all the expense of masonry in fortification on the old system has been thrown away, and more than this, that a system altogether new has been successfully applied in this instance, and that a total change and reform should be adopted.

Now I do not believe—I speak under correction—that there was anything new in the system of the defence of Sebastopol, or anything which would suggest the substitution of earth for masonry. I believe the merit and success of the resistance consisted in the prompt and able application of rules and principles of long standing. If indeed the line of defence had been fully completed according to its intention, I believe then our engineers would have had to deal with a very formidable system of defences, constructed upon a new system,—that which in Germany has been largely adopted, and which bears the name of its inventor, the French

engineer Montalembert ; but in this case masonry, instead of being rejected, would have been largely substituted for earth. I cannot now attempt to describe that new system in detail, or to compare it with the old one of Vauban. Suffice it to say, that its distinguishing feature is the adoption of elevated towers, with at least three tiers of guns, on a principle borrowed from the tiers of a three-decker. It is an accepted fact, that on the old system an army duly provided, besieging a place duly invested, could in time always command and silence the fire of the place at the point of attack. I believe the new system is mainly founded on the supposition that this may be remedied by the contrivance I have stated. For land-defences the tower may be considered as yet untried, for I do not believe any place so fortified has yet been attacked. Doubts, I believe, are still entertained as to its efficacy against the usual means of land-attack. A very beautiful example of it is familiar to Rhine

tourists in the Prussian works at Coblentz. For sea-defences it appears less questionable. It must be remembered that ships cannot work up under cover till their guns look well in to the base of the work, as with time and perseverance would be the case by land. As regards the old system of ditch, bastion, &c., which has undergone little alteration since the time of Vauban, I imagine that masonry is more essential to the permanence of a work than to its original strength. A certain degree of steepness is necessary for its rampart which might otherwise be walked over and carried at a rush ; and to preserve this from the effects of weather, stone or brick is necessary, and the latter is frequently used. I do not think, therefore, that any maxim or conclusion as to the relative merits of stone and earth can be derived from the defence of Sebastopol.

The Russians were not idle in reinforcing the garrison, nor in collecting on the north side an army sufficient, not only for the constant relief

of the besieged with fresh troops and for frequent sallies, but also to fight pitched battles with the view of driving the Allied armies into the sea. This observation brings me to Balaclava and Inkermann. Of Balaclava, which occurred on the 25th October, I shall speak hereafter.

Inkermann has been called the soldiers' battle. I think that term has been hastily accepted, and by some insidiously used. If it means that this battle brought out most conspicuously that quality of the English soldier, which the French call solidity, and which we call pluck, it is correct. If it means that there was more of hard fighting than of manœuvre, I have no quarrel with it. In this sense Waterloo was a soldiers' battle. But if it means, what by some it is held to mean, that English officers did not do their duty by English soldiers, it is a libel. There never was a battle in which the joint action of the regimental officer and the soldier was more conspicuous. Those who question this would do well to visit the redoubt in

the English left, and read the names of those who lie buried in its glorious precincts. Russia laid her preparations deep and strong for this great attempt. The anticipation of success went far to defeat the precautions of secrecy. At Paris, at Berlin, at Brussels, it was whispered that the days of the Allies were numbered. Two Grand-Dukes were sent down to win their spurs and share the expected triumph. Two divisions, fresh and untouched, were marched down to be instantly employed, before siege duties should have thinned their ranks or damped their courage. The plan was deeply laid, and, favoured by weather, auspiciously commenced; but the subsequent execution was not equal to the conception. It developed, palpably and fatally, a leading vice in the Russian system of attack.

In the Russian service the formation and movement of troops in action are much governed by regulation, from which a general in the field could only depart at the risk of Siberia. The

order prescribed by the late Emperor for the advance of an independent division, 17,000 strong, limits, as I am informed, its front to 840 paces. A simple calculation in arithmetic will show you that this gives it a depth of twenty men for every pace. Napoleon is said to have fought his principal battles with a depth of six or seven. It is not safe to condemn hastily any practice which men of experience think suitable to the character of the troops they have to command; but I cannot help thinking it a misfortune for any troops, that in order to give them confidence, or for any other reason, it should be necessary to expose them in such vulnerable masses to the effect of an enemy's fire. It is obvious that the effect, whether of grape, round shot, or the minié ball, must be terrible against them,—that even the rearmost ranks must suffer without being able to reply, and without knowing what is going on in front; a condition which always tends to demoralise. Russian accounts at-

tribute their defeat at Inkermann in great measure to the fact, that in the darkness of the misty morning, two of these heavy bodies, instead of diverging, took the same direction, and got mixed in irreparable confusion. There can be little doubt that this confusion was greatly increased by the tactical defects of such a system.

These battles left both parties much exhausted. The Russians showed no disposition to repeat their attempt, and we were certainly in no condition to push our operations with vigour. Then followed a winter of difficulty, endurance, and privation to both French and English armies. It may be said of both, that they stood the test triumphantly. Ours was the most severe, not merely because many accidents of our position made it so, but because our misfortunes were commented upon by the English Press in a manner which I think would have alienated any other army from its officers, and have shaken its discipline and organisation.

Do not understand me as uttering any unqualified condemnation of the action of the press. Many of its exposures of remediable defects were timely and valuable. The choice of the Times of an agent for an humane object, Mr. M'Donald, was, I believe, as felicitous as the object was good. Services of this description I am quite ready to take at the valuation of those who performed them. What I think is, that the Times employed the capital acquired by such services in a manner frequently so mischievous, that if that journal had been in the pay of Russia, it could hardly have done better service to that power; that many of its powerful articles have been fraught with injustice to individuals; that inevitable incidents of war have been treated in a manner calculated to prevent recruiting at home, unjustly to depreciate the English army in the eyes of Europe, to abet the willing malice of its Philo-Russian maligners, to paralyse Lord Clarendon's diplomacy, and to alienate from us

every neutral and vacillating power. Looking the other day into an old book, the "Moral Thoughts and Reflections of George Saville Marquis of Halifax," I lighted on the following maxim :—"One third part of an army must be destroyed before a good one can be made out of it." This means that nothing but harsh experience in the field can instruct and inure the soldier. Now the French had had the advantage of long and severe experience in Algeria. It was not, in my opinion, an experience likely to be of much use for extensive strategic operations against regular armies. Marshal St. Arnaud's Letters contain some just observations on that head.* It was, however, a war of rapid marches, difficult subsistence, and constant hardships and privation, and, as such, must have taught innumerable

* "En Afrique, où tout se fait en miniature, où il n'y a de grand que les fatigues, les privations, les maladies et les detresses; mais la vraie guerre contre les masses, contre du canon, contre des manœuvres, rien qui y ressemble, en de si loin qu'il faut une lunette pour y reconnaître quelque chose."—*Lettres du Marshal St. Arnaud*, vol. i. p. 503.

lessons of management and contrivance to all engaged in it.

So much has been said and written in this country on the sufferings of the army, the subject has been turned to account by so many with the real object of advocating views and opinions of their own, that I am tempted to quote some passages from a history of the war which seems to me as able and impartial a compendium of events as any I have yet met with. The writer is a soldier, and publishes at Zurich in the German language, from which I infer that he is a German Swiss. He betrays, at all events, a very impartial dislike for all the parties concerned in the war. After deprecating, as I think on grounds well-reasoned if not conclusive, and not with any vulgar flourish, interference with the action of the Press during a campaign, he proceeds :

“The English Press, as before observed, was loud upon the sufferings of the army, while that of France was silent: the English army

had suffered more than the French, and that circumstance led to great exaggeration of the difference of their respective condition. The difference was not, moreover, by any means entirely ascribable to defects in the organisation and administration of the English army. In justice to the latter, we should not omit to notice that the English, through this entire Crimean campaign, had constantly the lion's share of its difficulties; that the superior dexterity of the French commanders and staff exhibited itself, among other forms, in that of assigning to their Allies the posts of honour indeed, but also of danger and suffering. At Alma the latter had to deal with the strong point of the Russian position, at Sebastopol they had to defend the point of weakness and exposure on the right, and besides a much longer line than the French. If an homogeneous army had been operating in the Crimea, its commander would never have adopted such a distribution of his forces. As, however,

two distinct armies were operating under separate commanders, equal division was at first the rule. England was required to do, and insisted on doing as much as France.* In the Crimea men forget to consider that English ships had transported French divisions, that the English Baltic fleet in summer considerably exceeded the French, and no account was taken either of the characteristics of the two armies, or of the fact that the one was hardly half so strong as the other. That the spirit of the two armies was in the main admirable, is evident enough from the fact that after all the suffering and privation of the winter they were there with their discipline unimpaired." †

These are the words of a writer who can deal hard blows at French, English, or Russians when the spirit moves him.‡

* It is to be remembered that for the first few days the French and English armies in the Crimea were about equal in numbers. This relative condition was soon altered, and the misfortune was that the distribution of hard work was not soon enough made to correspond.

† "Der Krieg gegen Russland," von W. Rüstron.

‡ I cannot omit to mention that the abuse of the irresponsible

Spring returned at last with its flowers, with reinforcements, with profuse supplies, with the railroad. On the 17th February, the Russians underwent another severe and mortifying repulse in an attempt to force the Turkish lines at Eupatoria. This was not unimportant in itself, but it is by many supposed to have had additional importance in accelerating the death of the Emperor Nicholas, who expired after a short illness at St. Petersburg on the 2nd of March. This unexpected removal of the great author of the war was well calculated to create in many bosoms the hope that a return of peace might be one of its consequences. This expectation was

power of anonymous calumny reached its highest point in the case of General Simpson. In this case an officer on the score of high previous character and service, and on that alone, is selected for a delicate mission ; he discharges it with unquestioned success. A lamentable event leaves him in chief command, a burthen which under the pressure of growing infirmities he accepts reluctantly, and with a stipulation for his early resignation. Till that resignation can be provided for, at the urgent bidding of Her Majesty's Government, he toils on. His obligations to a gallant ally compel him to take his share in a series of attacks upon impregnable positions, and this is the man who for not having performed an impossibility is made the object of ribald jests.

the more natural, because the little that was known of his successor, the present Emperor Alexander, was highly favourable to his character. Report spoke of him as gentle and amiable in his disposition, and pacific in his tendencies. I had heard this report and believed it, but I did not from the first found upon it any the slightest hope of an early termination of hostilities. I thought, on the contrary, that the chance of peace was diminished by his accession; for I thought him not more desirous, and infinitely less able, to make peace on such conditions as the Allies could propose or accept, than his father.

The siege-works, much interrupted by weather during the winter, were now pushed forward. General Canrobert had from the first made the town of Sebastopol proper the object of his main attack. The Karabelnaia had been left exclusively to the English, but it was subsequently found necessary to transfer a large portion of the French force to that part of the undertaking. It

is understood that our chief engineer officer, Sir J. Burgoyne, had originally pointed out the Malakhoff as the key of Sebastopol, and the Karabelnaia, of which it was the main feature, as the proper object of the principal attack. The French General of Engineers, Bizot, thought differently, and his opinion still prevailed. Things in the early part of February stood nearly thus. The French on the left had pushed their third parallel to within 260 yards of the Bastion No. 4, and to within 180 of the Russian lodgments in its front. Against the Karabelnaia on the right the English had made less progress. The batteries of their first parallel, opposite Bastion 2, since called the Redan, were 1800 yards from the works; their second parallel, some 600 yards nearer, was still unarmed, and opposite the Malakhoff they had only thrown up some distant batteries and redoubts, calculated rather to check sallies than to make impression on the defences.

This was due to several causes, which I believe

entirely absolve our engineers from any charge of want of skill or enterprise.

Among the incidents of the siege which have been seized upon by German writers and by some in England, who have done their best to feed the Philo-Russian appetite of Germany for slander, has been the alleged slow progress and distance of the English works as compared with that of the French. There are technical matters which at any time I should be unable to discuss, and for their full discussion much detailed information would be required which is not yet before the public. I may warn you meanwhile not to give the slightest credence to anything you may hear on the subject, to the prejudice of our engineers, our artillery, or our establishments at Woolwich. From anything I have heard, I am only surprised to find how well, at the close of a long peace, and on a sudden departure from a system of excessive economy, the call for science and material has been answered by Woolwich.

The imputations which I notice do not come from France.

Every French account I have seen, including General Niel's admirable report of the final catastrophe, has done justice to our artillery and engineers. With respect to the engineers, it is to be remembered, that although that total want of a corps of instructed sappers under which the Duke of Wellington laboured in the Peninsula has been remedied, their means in this respect, though admirable in quality, continue very limited in numbers.

There is not the slightest reason before the public to believe that in the early operations of the siege the English works were not pushed forward with consummate skill and due vigour. When the difficulties of winter came, they told upon our approaches, and upon the whole work of our trenches with special severity. Among these difficulties, which did not press equally on the French, was the distance of our works from

the depôt of our supplies at Balaclava, and the consequent employment and exhaustion of our troops, of which so much has been said as to make further notice of it superfluous. Added to this, all accounts I have seen concur in describing the ground on which we had to work as presenting peculiar difficulties, both in respect of soil and configuration.

In the case of the Redan, these accidents made a close approach, such as the French effected towards the Malakhoff, impossible. The ground, as I understand, in front of our last parallel, sloped downwards towards that work. It is easy to conceive the difficulty of obtaining cover at close quarters under such a circumstance. The skill and science with which our works were constructed, under such accumulated difficulties, is best shown by the comparatively trifling daily loss in the trenches. There probably never was a siege in which the fire of the defence was so lavish. Some of the ravines are described as

literally paved with spent balls and fragments of shell. The vast stores of Sebastopol, both in guns and ammunition, left the garrison no motive for economy in this particular.

Day by day we looked in vain for some symptom of exhaustion, and when the catastrophe arrived, 4000 untouched guns, and magazines unemptied, showed how vain had been such expectations; and yet, till the sap was within a few yards of the Redan, though the danger was incessant, and the service harassing, the loss was small. As to the merits of our artillery, I have as yet heard no question. The precision of its fire, both in the field and in the works, has been specially noticed by all witnesses; and General Dacres, who remains in its command, has been able to boast that in no instance was it obliged to relax its fire from failure of its arrangements for supply. We were able, also, to lend many heavy guns to our Allies, which, in their able hands, swelled the chorus of 700 voices during the last bombardment.

It is to be also remembered that the English had been compelled since the battles of Balaclava and Inkermann, for their own and the general security, to throw up a strong line of defence for the protection of Balaclava. The fact is, that from the date of those battles, while they were besieging the town they were themselves all but besieged by the army of General Liprandi. He had won and kept possession of the country south of the Tchernaya, and all the resources of art were no more than sufficient in aid of the natural strength of our position to secure the line of our communication with Balaclava. The French position more to the left was comparatively safe. The enemy was at our door, but the door was strong, and the Highland division was behind it. The above details I have given to show how entirely the weight of the French attack up to this moment had been thrown on the left, to the exclusion of the Karabelnaia. It was not that no difference of opinion had arisen in the French councils. Sir

J. Burgoyne's view had been immediately adopted by the French General of Engineers, Niel, who had reached the camp in January. It was now determined, without relaxing the operations on the left, to employ a considerable French force in aid of the English attack against the Karabelnaia. The French henceforth undertook the approaches towards the Malakhoff and its adjuncts on the extreme right, while the English pursued theirs in face of Bastion 2, better known to us by the name of the Redan. The French army, now greatly reinforced, was divided into two army corps. The 1st, under General Pelissier, undertook the left attack; the 2nd, under General Bosquet, the Karabelnaia. The Commander-in-Chief, General Canrobert, took charge of the reserve.

Neither on the one side or the other did the Russians allow the assailants to approach with impunity their main line of defence. On the Karabelnaia side they took advantage of that comparative slowness and distance of the siege-

works, which has been noticed and explained, to seize upon the intervening ridges, and to fortify them. In this way they established themselves on the Sapoune hill in the redoubts called by them Selghinski and Volhynia, the names of the regiments engaged in constructing and defending them, and still more formidably in the Kamschatka redoubt, better known by the name of the Mamelon. Much credit is due to the garrison for the skill and vigour with which these works were raised and the courage with which they were defended against the French and English. It was absolutely necessary that they should be carried before we could deal with the main defences, the Malakhoff, called by the Russians the bastion Korniloff, and the Redan. Carried they eventually were, but not without many a bloody conflict, chiefly nocturnal, which was not always to the advantage of the Allies. Struggles scarcely less severe took place in front of the left French attack, though here the inter-

vening space was less and the ground not so favourable for the Russians. The particulars of these actions it is impossible for me to attempt to compress within the limits of this discourse. I regret this, for to judge of the qualities of the Allied troops you should follow them day by day and night by night into the trenches.

On the morning of the 9th April the Allies opened a second general bombardment from 500 heavy guns, which was maintained with more or less intensity for a fortnight. It failed again to silence the Russian fire. The Russians repaired by night much of the damage effected in the works by day ; but their losses are supposed during the whole bombardment to have been nearly three times those of the Allies, principally due to the effect of shells upon the masses employed during the night on the repair of their works. The cannon of the Allies was generally silent during the night, for a random horizontal fire is mere waste, but that of their mortars,

which require less precision, was unremitting. The Allies, however, under cover of this fire were energetically employed in pushing their approaches. In this the French succeeded to a considerable extent on the left, but not without a series of desperate encounters; and here also came into play on either side the art of the miner with all its subtle devices. I may observe that this difficult and scientific procedure is not employed alone for the purpose of blowing up the works of the besieged. Under special circumstances, where it is necessary to carry on near approaches under a heavy fire, it is largely used for the excavation of trenches of approach. It was so used in the present case, and all the varieties of this mode of proceeding were terribly illustrated on either side, with the advantage to the Russians of much previous preparation and knowledge of the ground.

Early in May a circumstance occurred which strongly showed the evil of divided command.

The recal of the first Kertch expedition, sent out for the purpose of depriving the Russians in the command of the Sea of Azoff of a principal source of supply to their armies. This disappointment, severe at the time to all concerned, was soon afterwards so completely retrieved, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it. It is not often in war that an intention once betrayed and abandoned can be subsequently acted upon. In repairing a boat in Worsley Yard you may postpone at pleasure hitting a right nail on the head. In war, the right nail does not always remain in its place to invite a second blow.

The 12th May witnessed the disembarkation, at Balaclava, of some 15,000 Piedmontese troops, good soldiers, under an excellent commander, General la Marmora, a most important and welcome addition to the Allied force.

On the following day a very important conference is said to have been held at head-quarters connected with the arrival of these and other

reinforcements; it is believed that at this conference the system of approach and attack hitherto pursued by the Allies came under discussion. Marked as it had been by many a desperate encounter, it had, I apprehend, hitherto been carried out on the usual principles in use against regular fortifications. There were many who considered this system as too cautious and dilatory. It was argued that against the earthworks of Sebastopol many of the precautions which cannot be dispensed with against more elaborate works might be omitted, and that a system of successive assaults with less regard to scientific and safe approach ought to be substituted. It was admitted that great loss of life must be encountered, and the responsibility for this, it is said, General Canrobert was unwilling to accept. These discussions, whatever their tenor, were followed by a transfer of the chief command from General Canrobert to General Pelissier, and a change soon became apparent

enough in the conduct of operations. The new Commander-in-Chief issued his first orders as such on May 19th, and General Canrobert, instead of withdrawing in ill-humour, most nobly fell back on the command of his old division in the army.

On the 22nd May, another expedition left Balaclava for Kertch. You must all remember with what satisfaction the tidings of its complete success were received in England.

General Pelissier lost no time in turning to account his greatly increased means of action, and in bringing his new system into play. There is no doubt that he adopted from the first the view of Sir J. Burgoyne and General Niel, who, on the death of General Bizot, killed in the bombardment, had succeeded to the command of the French Engineers. The Malakhoff was henceforth his real object. His first serious operations, however, indicated the contrary intention, of persevering in the original scheme of making the town the chief object of attack. Two successive assaults on the

Russian outworks in front of the left attack, on the nights of the 23rd and 24th May, cost him at least 2000 men. Some failures on the first night were retrieved, with astonishing pertinacity, on the second, and the operation, on the whole, was successful.

I have told you that, subsequent to the battle of Balaclava, the plain south of the Tchernaya immediately in front of our position, remained in possession of the Russians. This state of things was no longer allowed to exist. On the 25th May, a large force of all arms marched out of our lines, and the Russians retiring before it in every direction without a struggle, recrossed the river and left the plain in our possession.

General Pelissier's operation lately mentioned against the town had the effect which he intended, of somewhat diverting the attention of the Russians from the Karabelnaia. Both French and English profited by this to push their approaches and erect new batteries, and by the 6th

June the Allied commanders thought themselves in condition to make a heavy attack on the outworks in front of the Malakhoff and the Redan. General Pelissier's mode of operation under his new system may be estimated from the fact, that the troops told off for this operation, if we include a Turkish reserve of some 8000 men, amounted to nearly 40,000. The previous demonstration against the town had produced the effect intended; the Russians in the Karabelnaia were partly surprised by this attack, not that the outworks assailed were not formidably manned, but the reserves in the Karabelnaia were not what they would have been if they had expected so heavy an attack. Their resistance, however, in the principal work, the Mamelon or Kamschatka redoubt, was desperate.

The French, however, had all but succeeded both here and to their right, when the rash impetuosity of one of their flanking columns very nearly sacrificed all that had been gained.

These men having driven the Russians before them from the work they were appointed to seize and occupy, disregarding previous orders and exceeding their mission, followed the enemy to the ditch of the Malakhoff itself, and attempted to storm that work. The hour of the Malakhoff was not come; the assailants were driven back in wild confusion on their own parallels; and the Russians with great promptitude made a sally from the Malakhoff, and finally re-occupied the Mamelon. The French had to do their work over again, but they did it. Their reserves were poured in promptly and efficiently, and finally the French flag waved over the Mamelon. Before this had been quite accomplished, the English had executed under a heavy fire from the Redan their special portion of the undertaking, which was to carry and occupy a range of the redoubts which we call rifle-pits, in front of their own parallels on the French left.

This service, gallantly and ably executed,

brought our advance into line with that effected by the French. This great day's work, and the subsequent establishment of the conquerors in the redoubts they had carried under a heavy fire from the Karabelnaia, cost the French little less than 4000 men. The Russian loss was probably rather less. It was indubitably an important stride towards the ultimate object. It brought for the first time the approaches to the foot of the main defences of the city, and this at the tender point, which was now recognised for what it proved to be, the key of the whole. It further deprived the garrison of dangerous facilities for sallies in force against the Inkermann flank of the Allies. It did not, however, as some expected, enable the latter to reach with their fire the Russian ships in the harbour. It established General Pelissier in high favour with his troops and with the Emperor Louis Napoleon.

At this stage I think it best to pause. My time, if not your patience, is so far run out that

I cannot attempt to bring the great events which followed within the limits even of such an imperfect summary as I have attempted with those that precede them. The battle of the Tchernaya, the failure of the 18th June, the crowning success of the 8th September, are events too important for such notice as mine, and too fresh in your recollection to require it. Of the Tchernaya, I may however observe, that it seems to me to have been an Inkermann without surprise, and without hope of success. The Russians, as brave, but as crowded as before, retired with a loss heavier than that sustained by the whole English army at Waterloo. The Sardinians in their first encounter had a large share in the hard work and honour of the day. Not even this success, I may remark, could save General Pelissier from the censure of critics of the Press, who lost no time in maintaining that he should have pursued the Russians across the Tchernaya. These censors omitted, I think, to take into account that

the affair of the Tchernaya was less a battle, in the ordinary sense of the word, than a sally of the Russians, for the purpose of delaying, or, in the case of a success hardly to be expected, preventing an impending assault on the town.

They had this advantage, one which the garrison of a strong place generally possesses, that they could retire, in case of failure, where no enemy could follow. It would have been nearly as easy for General Pelissier to follow a Russian force after its repulse into the town itself, as in this case into the fastnesses of Mackenzie's Farm. Nothing, I am convinced, would have given the Russians so much satisfaction as such an attempt, or so many chances of retrieving their failure. Of the great catastrophe—the last assault—I will only observe, that it succeeded on one point, and failed in six others. One of those other points was the Redan, which fell to the lot of the English ; and on this Englishmen, I regret to say,

have raised a cry, to the prejudice of English officers and English soldiers, which for insolence and injustice has, in my opinion, seldom been equalled. Certainly if the five other French attacks had succeeded, the solitary failure of our own would have at least required some explanation. Viewed as part of a general scheme of assault, and as in fact a diversion in favour of that on the Malakhoff, it was no failure at all, but may claim its own and a large share in the general success which followed. I cannot omit to state that I have heard General Pelissier's conduct of the Malakhoff affair spoken of with enthusiasm by military men. The operation of getting into it turned out perhaps less arduous and bloody than there had been reason to expect ; but the task of holding and securing it was tremendous, for the Russians knew its value, and strained every nerve to regain it ; and the manner in which General Pelissier poured in his reserves is said to have been beyond praise.

My object has been to attract your attention less to the more brilliant and striking passages of the war, than to the long series of difficulties which the Allied armies have met and overcome. None were ever more severely tried, and the English, from many accidental circumstances, had the severer ordeal of the two. I hope that when you ponder on these things, you will be slow to believe or countenance the depreciators of the army, which has emerged from that ordeal; and slow to acquiesce in the views of those who demand on such grounds some total change in its organisation, with the view of substituting something different in its place. Remember, that while England is the greatest naval power in the world, she is not, never has been, and I hope never will become, a great military power, in the sense in which that term is applicable to the great powers of the Continent. I mean that her regular land-forces never have borne that proportion, or anything near it, to her wealth and population which those of

France, Russia, Prussia, or Austria at all times bear to theirs. Remember, that if you seek to approximate to such a condition, you must have a conscription instead of voluntary enlistment. Stick to what you are and what you have, and improve it to the utmost. Do not lose sight of it, and neglect it in quiet times, and do not draw from the consequences of any such past neglect rash and false conclusions.

I have heard it said that the separation between our officers and their men is too great. I do not believe that there is any army in which the bond of attachment on service between officer and man is really closer. On the night of the hurricane, which seemed as if sent by Providence to try the fortitude of our army, a young officer lay in his tent whose leg had been amputated in the course of the day. Removal and exposure would have been fatal, and if the tent, like many others near it, had fallen in, the poor boy was gone. Eighteen men, as I

have heard, left all care for their own shelter, and, through the dreadful night, lay on the tent-ropes to keep it standing. I have seen many letters of private soldiers written at the worst periods of the winter sufferings of the army. I can remember no passage in them which spoke of discontent with their officers, from Lord Raglan downwards.

A gentleman who writes frequently in the papers, under a well-known signature, complains that our officers are too young, and asks, Whether the men can be expected to follow them? I am afraid that both with officers and men it is a necessary consequence of the losses in our ranks that the average of age and experience has become less than we could desire; but where it is a question of leading and following, I ask where is it that an English boy, bred to manly pursuits and imbued with the feelings of an English gentleman, will not go, and where the English soldier will not follow? Ask

who fell furthest in the Redan, and the survivors of the Light Division will tell you it was a boy who had just joined the Rifles. He had been shot down on the parapet with a ball through the neck: he tied a handkerchief round it in the ditch, and climbed the parapet again, and finally fell,—where there ought to be a monument to his memory,—further in that Russian work than any succeeded in following. His name was Ryder, he was a nephew of Lord Harrowby, and his mother was a niece of Lord Raglan.

Take another case, a mere sample of the lot. Two days before the landing at Eupatoria, another boy was swinging in a cot in one of our three deckers, prostrate with fever. Under the care of its Captain, no bad sick nurse, he rallied, and before his cheek had recovered its colour, he was over the ship's side, and had joined his regiment, the Guards, on the sands of Old Fort. He endured the thirsty march and cheer-

less bivouac, and he carried the colours of his regiment across that plain, furrowed, not by the plough, but by round and grape, and through the Alma river, and never flinched till he planted them in the torn and trampled soil of the Russian redoubt, with five-and-twenty balls through their silk, and the staff shivered four inches above the young hand which held it. He was a Lyndsay, nearly related to your neighbour, Lord Balcarras.

Don't tell me of the mother of the Gracchi. Give me an English Cornelia, and an ensign in the Guards.

These instances happen to be connected with noble families. I have not selected them for that reason. I know that among the gentlemen of England, titled or untitled, sons of those who have inherited station and influence, or of those who have earned it, I should have far to look—not for the parallel—but the exception; and I doubt if I should find the latter. I have very lately had instances within my knowledge of

very young gentlemen—not aristocratically connected—but of this county—applicants for commissions, and the burthen of their application to the Horse Guards was—“What regiment you will, only let it be in the Crimea.” One of these, after succeeding, as he thought, wrote to me to complain—of what? Why, that he was put into a *depôt* company, and likely to pass the winter in the Isle of Wight instead of in the trenches. These cases refer to the staple of our army—its Infantry.

Take another class, the Cavalry, heavy or light. Now if there be a branch of the service which young men occasionally enter without a serious view to a profession and a career it is this. I ask, young or old, Who flinched at Balaclava? I told you I had postponed saying a word on that battle. I wish to remind you that there were two perfectly distinct instances of the action of our cavalry on that day, because I think the melancholy interest which attached to the second, the charge

of the Light Brigade, a little diverted public attention from the first, in which the heavy cavalry alone were concerned.

Now I think that first charge ought to rank with any exploit of the kind on record; with Lord Combermere's charge at Salamanca, with that of the Greys at Waterloo; and that Lord Lucan who directed, and General Scarlett who executed it, deserve as much credit for it as it is possible for us at home to award and bestow. The Russian cavalry outnumbered our own by I believe about three to one. They came on with an order and a steadiness which excited the admiration of very numerous and competent spectators, for a large portion of the Allied armies from adjacent heights could see the whole transaction. Accidents of ground and movement had brought the Russians so close to our position, that, when our cavalry were ordered by Lord Lucan to charge, they had scarcely space to get into a canter. The honour of England, the fate

of the battle, and the safety of the army were at that moment in the hands of the Heavy Brigade. It was led by General Scarlett, whom some of the Worsley Troop here present may remember to have done us the honour to inspect us at Lancaster, and who is otherwise well known in this neighbourhood. And where was he?

I have it from some who stood that day on the ridge above, holding their breath, and saw him,—where he would have been at a field-day on Wormwood Scrubs—three horses' lengths in front of the leading squadron, a troop of the Greys. For the effect of this charge, I must refer you to many excellent published descriptions. What I think has not been sufficiently noticed to the credit of General Scarlett, is, that he brought back with small loss the squadrons which had effectually repulsed three times their number of well-trained troops. This was something new : from Talavera to Waterloo it has been the reproach of English cavalry that they did not know when to pull up.

The Russians were forced back, but not in such extreme confusion as to prevent them from soon recovering their order. At close quarters they had found themselves no match for English swordsmen. I have heard one officer named who had emptied some ten Russian saddles to his own share. They had received such a lick from the rough side of the lion's tongue that they never came on again that day, but they retired and rallied on strong supports of artillery; and if General Scarlett had not had his men in hand, few of the Heavy Brigade might have returned.

The other great incident of the day, the charge of the Light Brigade under Lord Cardigan, gave occasion to controversies, in which I think none but professional men should meddle. Some verses which appeared in a newspaper at the time, express some of the feelings of mingled pride and sorrow with which the tidings of that glorious disaster were received at home, and I may take the liberty to quote them:—

BALACLAVA.

THE LIGHT BRIGADE.

THEY thought we were coxcombs. They said, we were born
In the sunshine of peace-time like insects to fly;
The jester and novelist made us his scorn,
And lecturing Pharisees joined in the cry.

They said we were heroes—best fitted to shine
In the barrack and ball-room, the ring and parade;
That the source of what courage we boasted, was wine,
And woman the prize of what conquests we made.

That slander has melted like mists from the sun,
It veils not the grave where its objects repose,
On the limber of many a Muscovite gun
They have scored its rebuke in the blood of their foes,

Ere their own was exhausted.—Alas for the number
Too scanty to conquer, too many to fall,
Of those whom no trumpet can wake from their slumber,
No leader can rally, no signal recall.

Not even that leader, in whose gallant bearing,
As he rose in the saddle the mandate to give,
None could mark, as he gave it, one symptom declaring
That none could accomplish that order and live.

It was hopeless, all knew it, yet onward they bounded,
With the order and speed of some festival day,
When, with kings to behold them, by gazers surrounded,
They have mimicked the features of battle's array.

Oh well may the remnant which, shattered and broken,
Returned from that onset, accept of the fame,
Which wherever the word "Balaclava" be spoken,
Shall join its sad glories with Cardigan's name.

And in Beaudesert's hall, when the Yule log is lighted,
And the tale of high deeds makes its round by that fire,
It shall tell how a son of that house has requited
The lessons of valour he learned from his sire.

Oh would *he* had lived one short year to have noted
When the red tide of slaughter foamed over that plain,
'Twas the plume of a Paget above it that floated,
It was Anglesea charged in his offspring again.

We may pause now for a moment before we disperse, to sum up results ; in commercial phrase, to take stock and count assets. I think I may say, that though our expenditure has been vast, the balance is satisfactory. In every encounter in the field we have had the advantage, and in a protracted and chequered struggle with material obstacles have emerged the conquerors. We have large sacrifices and heavy losses to mourn, but I almost shudder to state how far the balance on that score is against those who provoked and drove us to the contest. I have heard

the Russian losses, since the war commenced, estimated, by no mean authority, at 400,000 men. I do not guarantee these figures, but I should hardly put it at less than 300,000. While the explosions of Sebastopol are ringing in our ears, one telegraph succeeds another, from Eupatoria, from Kars, from the Sea of Azoff, Kinburn, and Otchakow !

Of the situation of the main Russian army, of the plans and prospects of our own, I will not speak, partly because I have no knowledge worth communicating on the subject, and also because if I had it, I would keep it to myself. These are great advantages pregnant with hope and promise, but I should deceive you if I averred a belief that they were at present sufficient to induce Russia to propose or accept terms which ought to be conceded by the Allies. I speak but on report, and should be glad to find myself mistaken. Till that consummation be attained, I hope this country will persevere, and I trust that it will not

hold out encouragement to Russia to do so, by affording her the spectacle of divided councils. No man living is more desirous of peace than myself, and I hope that the path to it may not be impeded by demands which may make it impossible of attainment. I cannot join with those who lay down the humiliation of Russia as an essential condition of a pacification ; I hope that peace may eventually be established on conditions affording a chance of such perpetuity as human transactions admit. I fear it can only be the result of further efforts. I await the issue in the hope that a just cause will continue to prosper under the blessing of Providence. St. George for England ! God defend the right !

APPENDIX.



SINCE this Lecture was delivered, the details have reached this country of that brilliant transaction of which a few hours before I spoke, the telegraphic account had arrived, the reduction of Kinburn. As an instance of success in a naval operation against a fortress, it may appear to militate against certain observations to be found in my Address. Very slight examination will show that my observations, whether sound or not, are not affected one way or the other by the recent exploit of Sir Edmund Lyons. In respect of strength, extent, and peculiarities of construction, Kinburn, a fortress of I know not what

order, but certainly not of the first, can admit of no comparison with Cronstadt, Sweaborg, or Sebastopol, to which my argument specially applied. The affair of Kinburn is evidently a gem of the first water, and Sir Edmund Lyons appears to have approached perfection in the conception and entire conduct of the transaction.

With regard to the conception, the wisdom of Sir Edmund Lyons is in nothing more conspicuous than in the wise profusion and exuberance of power which he applied to the undertaking. As regards the mere strength of the works, it seems probable that half the force employed might have achieved the result, but the struggle would have been longer, and the loss on both sides incalculably greater.

In war, it is humanity as well as prudence to accelerate an issue, and that which in industrial mechanics the engineer avoids as sinful waste, the application of superfluous power, becomes wise economy. Half the force might

have succeeded. Twice the force in the hands of bunglers might have failed. It is evident that the difficulties of execution were considerable. It was an affair of the lead, the compass, and of prompt and accurate intercourse by signal, all under fire; and any intermixture of rashness, impetuosity, or impatience at accidents of wind, fog, or surf, might have stranded or marred the enterprise. I may further remark, that the observations which I indicate, had strict reference to the relative means and appliances of fleet and fortress as they have hitherto existed, and had no reference to novel modes of action contemplated or in progress. The first trial of the floating batteries at Kinburn appears to have been most successful, and who shall foretel the limit to the future—perhaps the early application of this device to greater undertakings?

It would be well, however, before we argue from Kinburn to Cronstadt, to be accurately

informed as to the calibre of the guns mounted on the defences of Kinburn. I have heard that they were not heavier than our twenty-four pounders. If so, it is possible that the floating armadillos from which their shots bounded harmless back, might still fail before the heavier metal of the principal Russian fortresses.

I have endeavoured to express my admiration of the skill and judgment with which, at Kinburn, great means were made the most of by the Allied Admirals. I should find it more difficult to express what I feel, and what I think every man who can read must feel, on a perusal of General Williams's detailed report of the late repulse of the Russian attack on Kars. The bravery on both sides appears to have been equal and unsurpassable. Between grey-coated Russian and red-capped Turk there was little to choose in this particular; nor in the face of the reports of either the English or the Russian generals does any reason appear for supposing that the attack was ill-

conceived, or that any notable blunder in execution assisted its failure.

The causes of that failure were the foresight, unwearied vigilance, engineering skill, and a felicity worthy of Wellington or Napoleon, in the distribution and application of reserves in action, displayed by General Williams and his coadjutors, English, Turkish, and Hungarian. All the previous preparations speak of skill and foresight. Redoubts flanked one another. Attacking infantry were crushed with convergent fire. Cavalry, who had trampled the Turks last year, were received like the English men-at-arms at Bannockburn—on stakes and pitfalls. Columns in support, moving rapidly and safely by roads and bridges carefully prepared, met without jostling, at the right moment and the right place. Divide the credit how we may, between Briton, Turk, or Hungarian, each may be proud of his share. I believe the Hungarian General Kmety did no more than justify the expectation of those who

know anything of the true history of the Hungarian struggle of 1848.

What I have said in apology for remarks so unimportant as mine, may appear superfluous ; but I have some experience of the condescension with which individuals will notice even such lucubrations as mine, and of the extent to which they will misapprehend them. I did not invite any publication of my Address, and had even taken what precaution I could to confine it to the audience, for whom alone, with a view to the encouragement of a small local institution, it was intended. I could not, however, turn back gentlemen of the Press who had paid me the compliment, unasked and undeserved, of coming some miles to report it. I am obliged to them for several fair and faithful summaries, which I have seen no occasion to correct, but which I have thought it worth while to fill up and complete. The consequence of partial publication has been, that I have received numerous letters on the subject,

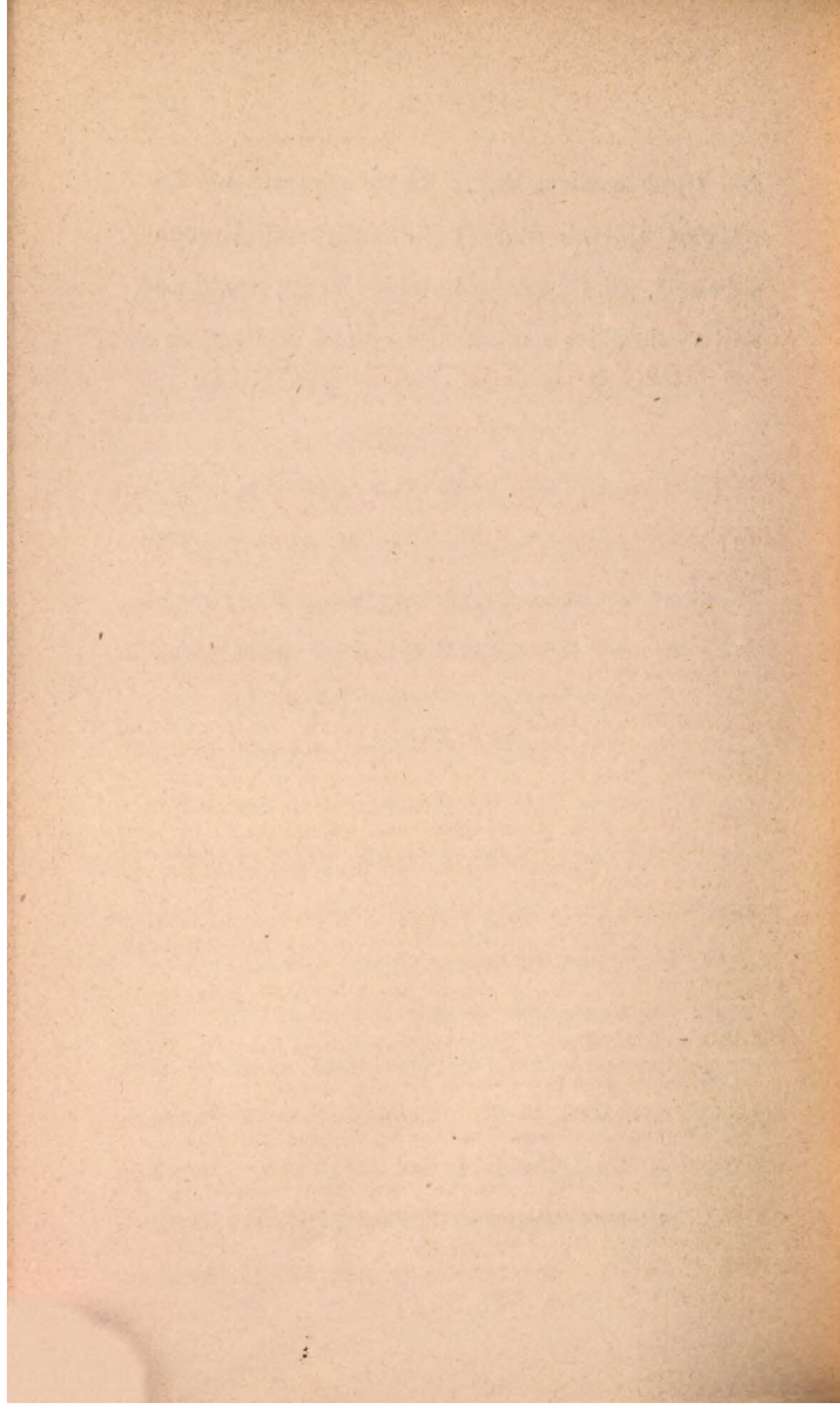
some very agreeable, and some intended to be as much the reverse as possible, but not the less instructive. I learn from some of the latter that I have given great offence by deprecating the humiliation of Russia. I respectfully assert that I have deprecated no such thing. It is no business of mine to avert from Russia, or to seek to lessen, any humiliation which the issue of arms she has provoked may bring upon her. Let Russia look to that. I am not a Russian but an Englishman, and what I deprecate is, that English blood and English treasure should be lavished, not in obtaining due and valid security for the future peace of Europe, but to gratify a spirit of blind and insolent bluster, of which I have seen, to my regret, many samples of late in the English language, and which marks some of the communications lately addressed to myself. As things stand, in a military point of view, Mackenzie's Farm is not yet the Caudine Forks. If it were, Prince Gortschakoff's army is not the Russian Empire.

The alternative of the old Samnite is not at your disposal, but wisdom and truth are eternal, and the spirit of his advice is applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to things of our day. Do not insult nor endeavour to degrade and humiliate an enemy you cannot destroy.

To act in this spirit is to make peace itself a hollow truce. To refrain from so acting does not imply the foregoing the fair and full advantage of battle fairly won. If there be prospect of that advantage, settle in your own mind how you will use it, and act accordingly when the time comes, but do not talk about it till it is yours. Those who talk loudly now of trampling on Russia, are not the men, and I should guess not the fathers and brothers of the men who are doing the work, men of the trench, the bivouac, and the front of the sap. These will tell you that trampling on Russia is not child's play. The bluster, the taunt, the abuse, and the call for blood smell to me of comfort, luxury, strong potations, four-post beds,

and three meals a day. Those who will not be satisfied though Turkey be safe, and Europe appeased, till Russia be trampled upon, would do well to shoulder a minié and go and do it.

THE END.



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